UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

Religion in Soviet Russia

By ANDREW STEIGER

WORLD FELLOWSHIP OF FAITHS

A Second Parliament of Religions

Report of first meeting in this issue.

Purpose: "To unite the Inspiration of ALL FAITHS—upon the Solution of Man's PRESENT PROBLEMS."

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Contents

EDITORIAL— Page

Notes 295
The Two Ways—ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY 297

ARTICLES—

Disarm!—*Sir Edward Grey* 295
World Fellowship of Faiths 298
A Troublesome Neighbor—H. S. N. 300
Religion in Soviet Russia—ANDREW STEIGER 301

POETRY—

Trumpets on New Horizons—
Temples of Industry—AUGUSTA MOORE GIBBLE 300
Toilers and Masters—CHARLES G. GIRELIUS 300
To a Sunflower—ELIZABETH K. EMERSON 300
Voices—JAMES LARKIN PEARSON 307

THE STUDY TABLE—

A Modern Prophet—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES 305
Cromwell's Confusion—ROBERT C. SCHALLER 305
Satanic Majesties, Mythical and Real—EMANUEL STERNHEIM .. 306
Corrections 307

CORRESPONDENCE—

A Cancellation—K. 307

THE FIELD—

Rabindranath Tagore on Vicious Propaganda 294
An Open Letter to President Franklin D. Roosevelt—ANNIE E. GRAY 308

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

Rabindranath Tagore on Vicious Propaganda

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore has issued the following statement to the Associated Press for circulation:

"I fully agree with what Mr. V. Patel has recently said in London about the need of counteracting anti-Indian propaganda in the West not by display of our injured feelings, but by sober presentation abroad of facts and figures about the present situation in this country. We must not lose time in fighting the campaign of misrepresentation and wholesale suppression of facts by which India is hopelessly menaced. Mahatma Gandhi's great name is made a target of mud balls, his life belittled, his influence with millions in India ignored. Attempts are made to prove that I, for one, am utterly at variance with Mahatmaji, and capital is made out of our supposed antagonism.

"As examples, let me cite two very recent ones. In *Tribune de Genève* is published an interview supposed to have been given by me to the late Mr. Londres, trying to injure Mahatmaji's reputation and thus insult my own character, using language utterly incongruous to me. This fictitious interview is supposed to have been waiting long years among the posthumous papers of the journalist and published by his friends when the writer can no longer be challenged. Next comes a letter from Koenigsberg from the great Indologist Glasnapp who asks my authority for contradicting the libelous remarks attributed to Mahatmaji and myself in a book called 'India' by the Italian author Mr. Luciano Magrini. I am also made to express my approval of the author's statements. I have never heard of the author or his book. I have been able to contradict these lies because they were brought before me by my friends.

"During my visit in South America, I was surprised to find twice within a few weeks informations startlingly calumnious exploiting the ignorance of the readers in a well-known Argentinian paper. The authentic fact was given with circumstantial details about a slave market in Calcutta where Bengali girls are bought and sold. A few

(*Continued on page* 308)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

Volume CXI MONDAY, JULY 24, 1933 Number 19

DISARM!

"Every country had been piling up armaments and perfecting preparations for war [in the years preceding 1914]. The object in each case had been security. The effect had been precisely the contrary of what was intended and desired. Instead of a sense of security there had been produced a sense of fear, which was yearly increasing. . . . Such was the general condition of Europe; preparation for war had produced fear, and fear predisposes to violence and catastrophe. . . .

"The lesson of European history is plain. It is that no enduring security can be found in competing armaments and in separate alliances; there is no security for any Power unless it be a security in which its neighbors have an equal share."

—*Sir Edward Grey,* in *Twenty-Five Years* (1892-1916)

The complete failure of the London Economic Conference, mistakenly kept up for the sake of appearances, cannot be hidden by these elaborate efforts to conceal disaster. The meeting which was hailed as the last desperate chance to save the world, the collapse of which was denounced in advance as an impossible contingency, has now come to nothing, thanks to the action of President Roosevelt, the one man who did more than any other to anticipate its coming and insure its success. The story of the American executive, as it stands at this writing, is wellnigh incredible. To what end did he invite Mr. MacDonald, M. Herriott, and other foreign visitors to this country, if not to confer with them with the idea of agreeing upon procedure which would guarantee friendly and fruitful cooperation in the settlement of existing problems? Yet discord appeared in London instantly, and was aggravated and then forced into violent explosion by the President's refusal to do anything but issue orders on his own terms. Why did Mr. Roosevelt send his Secretary of State and later his trusted personal representative, Professor Moley, to London if not to present his views and represent his policies? Yet, in the critical hour of the Conference, he flouted these men, repudiated their agreements, and invalidated their authority. How can Cordell Hull hold office another day? In his famous appeal to the fifty-four governments of the world on May 16th, Mr. Roosevelt himself specified, as the very first item on his agenda, which had surely been agreed upon by his foreign visitors, that "the conference must establish order in place of the present chaos by *a stabilization of currencies.*" Yet it is on this very point that the President wrecked the Conference by a refusal even to discuss stabilization. The record, we repeat, is incredible. But this much at least may be said for the President—that he has not dodged the awful responsibility which he himself, in his May 16th appeal, imposed upon the wrecker of the world's hopes. His words will be remembered:

> If any strong nation refuses to join with genuine sincerity in these concerted efforts for political and economic peace, progress can be obstructed and ultimately blocked. In such event the civilized world, seeking both forms of peace, will know where the responsibility for failure lies. I urge that no nation assume such a responsibility, and that all the nations translate the professed policies into action.

What must now follow upon the London fiasco is a recrudescence of such nationalism as mankind has not seen even in this age of super-nationalism. International action for the world's relief is definitely at an end. All hopes and plans for the order of the world in closer cooperation and friendlier fellowship are gone for good and all. In spite of high-flown protestations, the nations may now be expected to lapse into utter isolation, each country seeking to serve its own economic interests in its own way and by its own unaided efforts. And this at a time when Mr. Roosevelt has been talking day and night about "partnership," as though such relation were not as necessary and beneficent for governments as for industries! It must be admitted that, in this new economic nationalism, the United States is perhaps better fitted than any other country to survive and flourish behind its own "Chinese wall." The President seems to think that he can restore prosperity by the operations of his "new deal," and let the rest of the planet "go hang." And perhaps he can—for a time! But what do we think of a type of statesmanship which, in such an hour as this, seeks its own selfish advantage at no matter what expense to the rest of the human race? Months ago we said in these columns that Mr. Roosevelt as President would be weakest in the field of foreign affairs. In the wrecking of the London Conference, and the almost simultaneous order for the enormous increase of the navy up to treaty limits, we see the melancholy fulfilment of our prophecy. And the worst of it is that, in the end, whatever success the President attains in his domestic program is bound to be destroyed by intransigeant foreign policies of the current variety. For no nation, as no individual, can survive alone. "The members should have the same care one for another.

And whether one member suffereth, all the members suffer with it; or one member is honored, all the members rejoice with it."

President Roosevelt has now gone over utterly to the big-navy interests and militarism generally. This is one more evidence of the super-nationalism of which we have just spoken above. Of course, there is provocation to action of this kind, easily effective in the case of a man like Mr. Roosevelt who has all his life been almost childish in his obsession with soldiers and sailors. Thus, there is the spectacle of Japan running amuck in Asia—a spectacle which has persuaded Roy Howard to come out in advocacy of a navy "second to none," and thus to take his immensely powerful Scripps-Howard chain of newspapers definitely out of the ranks of liberal journalism in this country. Then there is the failure of the Geneva Disarmament Conference, as futilely kept alive for appearance's sake as the London Economic Conference. Mr. Norman Davis, to be sure, comes home to tell us that everything is fine at Geneva, and that disarmament is getting on. We wonder how many half-wits Mr. Davis expects to deceive by silly talk of this description—especially now, when we know from Senatorial inquiries the kind of man Mr. Davis is, and the things in which he is interested! Mr. Davis's chief evidently takes no stock in such vaporings, and straightway orders us armed to the teeth. But is this the only way out of the dilemma? On the contrary, we regard it as the only way *not* out of the dilemma. The statements of Mr. Howard and Secretary Swanson sound simply incredible in the light of the world's experience in the last quarter of a century. Is it actually possible that we must try the "preparedness for war" policy again in order to prove again that such policy leads straight to a vast cataclysm of arms? We can understand a man like Hearst calling for huge armies and navies in the days before 1914, but we cannot understand men like Howard calling for such armies and navies in these days after 1914. Roosevelt's policy will lead us straight to war with Japan, as England's policy in 1910-1914 led straight to war with Germany. Why not try a new policy—step out of the vicious circle of the "balance of power" altogether, and disarm in dedication to the ideal of peace? Not otherwise will peace ever bless our distracted world.

Some radical friends of UNITY are expressing surprise at our enthusiasm over the President's Industrial Control Bill (National Industrial Recovery Act). They point out that "its avowed objective is the stabilization of capitalism," to quote the *World Tomorrow*. It is an attempt to start up the old economic machinery on the accepted basis of private profits. It is, in a way, a lending of the powers of government to private industry, to the end of restoring the profits which disappeared in 1929. It may even be said, as John T. Flynn says in the *New Republic*, that the Bill simply surrenders to private trade associations a large part of the sovereignty of the American people.

These bodies, says Mr. Flynn, will now legislate on such minor subjects as prices, production, wages, standards and other unimportant matters which consume 90 per cent of the income of the people, leaving to the government the matter of taxes which use up the other 10 per cent.

These charges are true, especially as regards the immediate situation. But in hailing the Bill as an epoch-making piece of legislation, we have in view its ultimate implications and consequences. The Industrial Control Bill does operate entirely inside the capitalistic system, and in the interest of that system. But at the same time it works such changes in the system as to make it unrecognizable. First, and fundamentally, it destroys the whole *laissez faire* doctrine and practice which is the heart of capitalism. It ends industrial brigandage, uncontrolled competition, free and unhampered exploitation of human beings in the interest of business. It establishes the dominance of the idea of social control—of the right and duty of government to subdue industry to the welfare of the people. What we have in this legislation is the "necessary preliminaries to the inauguration of a Socialist program," to quote the *World Tomorrow* again. What President Roosevelt is doing is to establish State Capitalism—a new era in this country, indeed! In due time, by the irresistible logic of events, State Capitalism will be succeeded by State Socialism.

Immediately upon its appearance in Congress, we characterized the Farm Bill as the craziest piece of legislation ever enacted in the history of the country. We gave reasons for our judgment which we believed, and still believe, to be adequate. But now Nature has given reasons more potent than any we could devise. The hottest June in many years swept the vast agricultural areas of the West and South with blasting heat, and shriveled away hundreds of thousands of acres of wheat and corn and barley. This means a sudden scarcity of production of huge proportions. Yet the Farm Bill has kept far-flung and fertile fields out of cultivation, and has actually arranged to pay farmers for ploughing under the crops already sown. This Bill, of course, is based on the extraordinary idea that there is too much food in the world, and that its production must be stopped. As a matter of fact, of course, there is not, and never can be, too much food. Too much, perhaps, for large and quick profits for private producers, middle-men, and speculators in the world's markets! But not too much for the needs of men, if only they could purchase what they could so abundantly and gladly consume! And even if there are times when the earth seems to be embarrassingly lavish of its prodigality, what about the times of drought, as in America and in Russia at this moment? Even

in ancient Egypt it was known that there were lean years and fat years, and that the surplus of the latter must be stored up to serve the deficit of the former. But now our leanness is upon us—and we have no storage to carry us through, and, thanks to the Farm Bill, the whole nation is harnessed up to the business of destroying the new crops! Could anything be more insane? Of course, the trouble with this legislation, as of much similar legislation, is that it concerns itself with the problem of production. But there *is* no problem of production, except as this great and beneficent function of society is mixed up with all kinds of methods and motives of profit-making. Our real problem is distribution, and this the Farm Bill and similar legislation does not touch. Why not let the farmer produce all that nature will let him produce, and use the government for getting what he produces into the hands of the people?

The career of the late *"Fatty" Arbuckle,* one of the earliest and most popular of the screen stars, may well be occasion for philosophical contemplation. Who was responsible for such a rise and such a fall—a man who had no character to sustain the impact of wealth and fame which smote him without warning, or a public capable of making a hero of such a clown and wastrel, and then casting him aside for no more serious offense than the typical American crime of being "found out"? It was a mere accident that a Hollywood beauty died in "Fatty's" rooms after a drinking bout. It was a way of life, crowded with wild indulgence and dissipation, written in every line of face and figure and thus the unconcealed essence of Arbuckle's so-called fun-making, which made possible this accident. Yet had the accident never come, and the American people never been forced to face the facts thrust upon their attention by the sheer sensation of the death of a witless and worthless girl, this actor would have remained to the end one of the adored favorites of the morons who crowd our movie theatres. Arbuckle himself was as pitiful as he was typical. He never knew what it was all about, either his rise or his fall. His enormous success was a mystery which threw him into a perfect daze of riotous living. His sudden and complete humiliation was another mystery which threw him into another daze, this time of rankling injury and grievance. It was characteristic of the man that, with recovery of name and fame in sight, he again plunged into a gaiety which this time was too much for him. His one supremely creditable act was to be buried without a religious service made farcical by insincerity and pretension. If the movie public had never made this weak, brainless and vulgar star, they never could have unmade him. The tragedy was in his acceptance in the beginning, not in his rejection in the end. Having been raised to such favor for such reasons, Arbuckle naturally thought that anything would go, and felt himself betrayed when he was cast aside not for his offense but for its discovery. And he *was* betrayed —by a public which betrays itself in seeking amusement at the cost of every standard of decency and good taste.

The Two Ways

If we are ever to arrive at any goal the course must be run. The goal the prophets and poets have set up for us is a social-economic order which is expressive of the spirit of brotherhood. There are two obvious courses by which to reach this goal.

The one course is by the way of revolution. By revolution I mean the development of a set of antagonisms and the expression of these in organized forms, which inevitably will result in violence. Revolution means the abandonment of all attempt to appeal to any inherent sense of fairness and justice in humanity. Revolution is war, and war means the negation of every virtue which is supposed to belong to the idea of brotherhood. It means the apotheosis of hate and the idealization of cruelty. Because of the stupidity and ignorance and weakness of men, because of their impatience, revolution may come. But woe unto them by whom it cometh! Anyone who looks calmly on the prospect of revolution betrays a pitiful and woeful lack of imagination, a failure to understand the terrible cost one must pay for going the way of revolution, cost not only in terms of human lives but in terms of all that is highest and holiest in human life.

There is another way, a way which seems to be almost inescapable. It is not the way of compromise in any low sense of the word. By this way the goal may always be kept in view, the ideal never denied, and in the end the goal attained. It is the way in which every step may be in essence an appeal to man's inherent sense of justice and fairness. There will be opposition, of course, as there always has been, to every step, both on the ground that it is something new and also on the ground that it interferes with the selfish interests of a few. This is no primrose path, but it is not the way of violence, it is not the way of revolution.

We might, through entirely orderly processes, determine to use the land values which no man creates for the good of the entire community. We might organize, on a voluntary basis, cooperative societies for the manufacture and distribution of commodities. We might take entirely out of the realm of speculation the production of light and power. These are but steps on the way toward a goal. If taken with the determina-

tion that they lead somewhere they will become a part of the process by means of which man attains his end.

It appears to be fairly obvious that if this second way is not taken, then the first way will be taken. For the only answer that mankind has ever made to continued privation and hunger is the answer of violence. Those who refuse to go the way of peace, those who refuse to admit any change, those who deny the piteous cries of hungry children, they are the creators of revolution. Woe unto them by whom revolution comes!

ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY.

World Fellowship of Faiths

The opening meeting of the series planned by the Fellowship to take place in Chicago this summer of the Century of Progress, was held in the historic New England Congregational Church on June 18. As called to the attention of the audience by the Rev. Theodore C. Hume, Minister, the meeting place was a peculiarly fitting one as the Congregational Church began its history in New England on the issue of freedom to worship God in any way that men wished, without dictation and without uniformity.

Miss Jane Addams, Chairman, spoke of the tremendous interest in these days of much talk about material progress, in how to make spiritual progress. Many religions have essential aims and purposes while differing in methods and means of approach. Miss Addams said:

"The Fellowship of Faiths recognizes this identity of aim wherever it may be discovered and it also recognizes perhaps irreconcilable differences of methods, and it recognizes both the times when we approach and the times when we differ. And when we differ, to recognize such difference in a spirit of fellowship and understanding is after all a great achievement. If I may use the old simile of the colors of the prism, the various colors are but portions of the white light of truth, and we see the truth in different colors. This crystalline truth is the only thing worth having in this world, in this effort to win the good life, which can only be obtained when we know the truth and attempt to live up to it and die for it if need be."

Patrick Henry Callahan, of Louisville, Ky., addressed the Fellowship on A Century of Tolerance. After defining Tolerance Dr. Callahan said:

"We have good authority in support of Tolerance. Pope Benedict XIV asserted:

"We have as serious an obligation to practise evangelical meekness and Christian charity as we have to champion truth. Whoever violates the virtues of meekness and charity shows that truth is not his principal concern.

St. Augustine, perhaps the most brilliant of thinkers, instructs us that we should address even the most cantankerous of our opponents with the words:

No matter what you say, no matter what you may be, you are my brother—good or bad, whether you will it or not, you are my brother.

Father Gratry in his life of Perreyve develops the thought of tolerance in the following fashion:

In our dealings with those who share opinions different from ours, we should learn never to be harsh, what is worse, never to be ironical, and above all, never to be satirical; we should cultivate the art of finding in the least reasonable adversary the one thousandth part of reason that is present, and when we have found it, we should recognize it, praise it, make it serve our purposes, imitating in this the chemist who sedulously seeks a minute particle of gold in an amalgam. In all this we should remain imperturbably evangelic, sweet as the lamb of God—and thus we shall work miracles.

And didn't the Master, the Savior of us all, preach this doctrine when he told us to love our opponents? And didn't He teach it by His example? Unless He knew that His opponents were actuated by selfish motives, that they were insincere and hypocritical, he treated them with the utmost courtesy and consideration.

"Now, that attitude of tolerance has grown during the past hundred years; it has grown especially in this country of ours and in English speaking countries. Tolerance began in Maryland and became an American institution. It was introduced in 1632 and at the present time that state is celebrating its three hundredth anniversary. A Catholic, Lord Baltimore, received from a protestant King a charter to establish a colony on these principles and, through the co-operation of Catholic and Protestant colonists, carried his intention into effect. Maryland thereby became the first organized government to put into practice the principles of separation of Church and State and religious freedom for all. This most precious of American heritages is responsible for the guarantees of religious liberty in the constitution of the United States and in the constitution of the several states. They provide for non-interference in religious matters on the part of the government, they recognize the citizen's right to worship God as he sees fit, and, they protect him against discrimination because of his religious convictions. The action of our own government led to similar action by the British government, and only a couple of years ago England also celebrated the hundredth anniversary of the Act to remove Religious Disabilities.

"It is true, tolerance has not developed to the extent that we should like to have seen it developed. Prejudices, which should be differentiated from intolerance, are with us in abundance, and being an extreme expression of likes and dislikes, like the poor, they are apt to be with us always. Prejudices continue to play a large part for and against all the social, economic and political movements of the day. Prohibition, for instance, in the last decade has created enmities and discrimination surpassing anything due to religious prejudices. But what the injudicious sometimes call religious discrimination is not on account of religion at all, but due to something else—racial characteristics, political activities, community activities or inactivities, social equalities and the like. I would like to say here, and with great emphasis, that in business or in the professions, and I also include politics, there is practically no discrimination of anyone in this country nowadays on account of religious beliefs pure and simple.

"The conviction must be bred into our people and must grow from day to day that this is the land where hatreds of all kinds, especially religious hatreds, must not be allowed to live.

"The Century of Progress offers evidence on all sides of the invaluable contributions made by our

American people to the welfare of the human race. The coming century will witness further conquests of nature, of its forces and its secrets, but may our most distinguished contribution ever remain the development of the science of living, of getting along with one another peaceably and amicably—for the greatest of these, charity."

"How Expand Patriotism into World Consciousness" was the subject of Frederick J. Libby, of Washington, D. C. Mr. Libby said in part:

"Living in a time of rapid change imposes new responsibilities. During these past weeks our President has been moving so fast that it has become our daily task to read in the papers what our country did yesterday in its change of policies—some changes quite far-reaching but supported by the country experimentally, and supported because the times called for change. . . This is just typical of changes that are taking place throughout the world, changes that are bringing us closer together.

"This bringing us closer together can work upon our spirits in two different ways. We can quarrel more because we are so close together, or we can understand one another better if we will. And the effect of our changing world has manifested itself in both these directions. As Miss Addams has said, nationalism was never so extreme as it is today. In one country after another there has developed a nationalism which has no precedent, I think, in the history of the world. What do I mean by nationalism? I mean a devotion to country that takes the form of being *against* other countries, an exclusive love of country, a love of country that is "anti" the rest of the world. To my mind that development of patriotism passes the bounds of morality.

"Love of country is deep in all our hearts, and should be. When I think of my forefathers who have been since 1637 living and dying here and contributing in their small way to build the nation—I owe them much. I owe much to the other builders of this country. I love the founders of Massachusetts, with all their sternness and their extreme righteousness, they made a tremendous contribution to the ideals of our country. I learned in childhood to admire with peculiar reverence the Jesuit priests, missionaries, that went among the Indians up and down the Mississippi and in this part of the country, persecuted, tortured but indomitable, helping to give an idealistic character to the otherwise rather mercenary operations of our traders. I love the leaders of our country, Washington, Lincoln, Jefferson and Hamilton, and that peculiarly lovable man, Benjamin Franklin. I love to think of the immigrants that come over here with shining eyes, come with ideals, come with hopes, such heavenly hopes, as they look forward to living in a country which they expect to be so free, with its freedom of conscience, freedom of the press, freedom of religious worship, and freedom of speech. I always deplore and regret extremely when we fail to live up to the ideals of those who come among us. We owe it to them to be what they have dreamed that we were. The cynicism that creeps into life as men grow older is unworthy of us and we ought as patriotic citizens to seek to maintain and develop that lofty character of our country which its citizens alone can create. But that is not nationalism. That is what I understand as our duty and our privilege as patriots.

"If I may explain in a word the difference between patriotism as I see it and nationalism as I see it, it can be boiled down to the contrast between two propositions—it is the contrast between the preposition "against" and the preposition "with." Shall we love our country as *against* the rest? Or shall we love our country in cooperation *with* the rest? Shall we seek our national welfare *against* that of the rest? Or shall we seek our national welfare *with* that of the rest? Shall we seek our national security *against* that of the rest? Or shall we seek our National security *with* that of the rest? That is the dominant issue of this decade, and nothing is so important, as it seems to me, as the problem of settling that issue right.

"Nationalism, as I interpret it, is cut-throat competition, and it does not pay. It is exactly the same principle as in the economic world: instead of being *against* each other economically we need to work *with* each other, to get out of the depression which is world wide. It is not only a matter of economics within the nation, but international economics too. It is good business and good international ethics for the nations to work together. As President Roosevelt said in one of his radio addresses, it is only if we can raise the purchasing power of the entire world that we shall be able completely to extricate ourselves from this depression. A world problem requires world cooperation and world treatment."

Maud Ballington Booth talked on "The Living Power of Faith in the Hearts of Men." She rejoiced that the congress of religion has chosen the word Faith to stand out prominently.

If this were going to be a congress of religious creeds, if this were going to be a discussion of religious dogmas, if this were going to deal with the many religions which various, feeble human minds have evolved, I do not think that it would have a very united platform, and I do not think it would send forth a very clear beam of light into the world's darkness.

But the platform of the Fellowship of Faiths points beyond little walls and partitions, dikes and ditches that separate, to the star of hope "up beyond this world's weakness and sin and pettiness and littleness, to the greatness and width and depth of divinity." It points to a belief and faith in God and in prayer.

And then a belief in the miracle-working touch of that God who still loves to touch the dead soul to life, to open blind eyes, blinded and befogged by fear and doubt and ignorance and sin; to bring to the unclean soul the cleansing that only he can give—the miracle-working touch divine. Confucius has said that he who desires to know men must first know God. And it is only those who know God as a personal experience who, standing on a great platform like this, can send out to the world something that will awaken the aching hearts that listen, to a realization of the fundamental truth of the power of the divine, living faith; a religion that seeks not in books, a religion that gropes not in the opinion of others; a religion that follows not blindly some given beaten path; but a religion that humbly and earnestly and longingly cries out in faith to one who can answer prayer.

Mrs. Booth told graphic stories of lives within prison walls and of the message that she was able to take to those

whom misfortune and sin and doubt and sorrow had shut in; who perhaps had no faith in themselves or in God or in their fellowmen, and who were dwelling in the dark.

Out of a vital experience gained in every prison in the land, Mrs. Booth could say with assurance:

"In every human heart there is a little spark ready to kindle into flame; in every soul, amid the jangling discords of life, there is some spring that can be touched and made to vibrate to heaven's harmony; the hearts of men and the hearts of women

long to turn heavenward. Sometimes they may seem hard and calloused and indifferent, but in my own experience I have met them—murderers, burglars and thieves, residents of the criminal world—in my own experience let me say that I have seen hearts near life's terminal, I have seen poor hard, defiant eyes filled with tears; I have seen men bow their heads in shame, because God spoke deep down in their soul, they have heard the whisper of his voice; and I have seen the miracle of living faith in the hearts of men who have risen above long criminal records, who have risen above the difficulties of life, men who have grasped that faith and it has revolutionized and redeemed them and sent them forth in this world able to withstand its temptations.

Mrs. Booth's closing word was:

This glorious word faith! Let us write it in our hearts and see that we mix it not with the word creed or church; let it be deeper than that; let it be a faith that the true God owns and possesses our being, so that we can laugh in the face of difficulty, that we can smile through our tears, that we can paint a rainbow on the darkest cloud . . . because we know God.

A Troublesome Neighbor

Not far from the cottage, on a high, swinging branch of a maple tree, hangs an oriole's nest. During the process of building it was in full view. Now the leaves almost hide it. No stranger would suspect its whereabouts. Wise little birds! A potting table stands just below it, and Anne spends hours at work there, seeding and transplanting and listening to their merry whistle as they flit about their business. How secure they must have felt as they wove their tiny pouch-like nest of strings and grasses, colored yarn and bits of wool which she had scattered about!

For days Tom watched the birds mating and building, and often carried on a whistling conversation with them. They seemed to know him—trust him. Strolling, one morning, distant from the nest, he noticed a cock oriole following from tree to tree and, when he gave the usual whistle, the bird began to scold and flutter excitedly. Something was wrong. The whistle became appealing—insistent. Trouble was brewing—that Tom knew—but what? No sooner was his attention gained, than the bird, still scolding, returned, fluttering from tree to tree, to the nest. At length, after many tours around the place, peering this way and that, Tom discovered a squirrel, so eager, so determined, just ready to leap onto the nest, perhaps to destroy the eggs or nestlings. It took some time, much tree-shaking and many stones to dislodge the squirrel, but now the whistling conversations are resumed and peace reigns. The peeping of the nestlings can be distinctly heard, and the parent birds are busily occupied feeding their greedy offspring. With the aid of glasses, the young ones can be seen, flecks of gold, their beaks emerging above the nest each time the parent returns with a morsel of food. A day or two, at most, and they will be fluttering about the garden, guarded and taught by the parent birds. A few days later, they will timidly hop from branch to branch in the trees and learn to enjoy feeding from the oranges.

As for the squirrels—who can help enjoying them? Their grace and playfulness are enchanting—there is something clever even in their destructiveness. One would not willingly part with them. What a pity that all cannot live in amity! But squirrels and birds—gophers and bulbs—plants and ants—do not do well together. In each case, one must be disciplined if the other is to thrive. The choice is difficult. But the squirrel remains after the birds are gone. To watch him at work, filling his winter larder in a few short weeks before frost and snow make his work impossible, gives one something of the amusement and pleasure the birds give during their season when they start building and raising their broods. A balance is maintained, in a rather rough and ready way, by studying the habits of the creatures who seem, just as closely, to study the habits of the gardener who is with them every day. They soon learn whom they need not fear and, if one becomes a troublesome neighbor, perhaps a stone or a stick, a shaking of branches or even a shoo! is sufficient to restore harmony.

H. S. N.

Trumpets on New Horizons

Temples of Industry

Marring the city's sky line
These structures towering above the roar of traffic
Typify Mammon worship in a crumbling world—
Soulless things that pour wearied humanity
Into close subways at end of work day:
Their silences haunted. AUGUSTA MOORE GIBBLE.

Toilers and Masters

The whistle blows at five. A worn, impatient, hurrying crowd
Comes rushing out the factory gate, with faces set and cowed.
A grim unsmiling throng whose every hope has been deceived
Are going home without the happy pride of task achieved,
Since much there is to fret the nerve, and not a thrill of soul,
For those who work in factory walls to earn a scanty dole.
The middle-aged are stooped and old, their faces tense with care;
The feet of youth have lost the sprightly step of virile dare;
And women's eyes have not the glance that marks the dream within,
For dreams will not endure the factory's maddening noise and din.
You chiefs of industry, what have you done for the good of man?
What place, what hope, is there for soul in all your vaunted plan?
God meant that men should work in joy, and share the fruit of toil,
And use as comrade friends the yield of factory and soil;
But you esteem as good the selfish gain of hoarded things,
Forgetting all the higher wealth to which the spirit clings.
What have you done to the lives of men, the lives the Lord God gave,
The lives you now employ in mammoth mills to work and slave?
You toss them out like junk and waste with not a sense of wrong,
And therefore now they rush from work without an urge to song.
O masters, pause, for these poor souls will rise in wrath, and then—
Pull down your thrones of privilege. And God will say, "Amen!"

CHARLES G. GIRELIUS.

To a Sunflower

Wasteland! Piles of gray ashes
Under the quivering, white-hot sky of midsummer
Near gleaming, steel rails!
Grimy children huddle in a squalid tenement yard
Strewn with torn paper, cinders and broken glass.
You stand alone, your dusty, bottle-green leaves covering filth,
Your golden face upturned in ecstasy
To your God.

ELIZABETH K. EMERSON.

Religion in Soviet Russia

Of all the enigmas which Soviet Russia poses for modern civilization, none is harder to write of than religion. The writer after fifteen months here, finds so little positive to say, it can be expressed in the word, *dissolution.* Religion is disintegrated, and society is forming new integrations without it.

A few facts may enliven the reader. Most of the churches of Sverdlovsk were dynamited in the winter of 1928 by order of the City Soviet of workers and peasants. The wood to heat them cost more than the receipts of the small body of worshippers could pay. Space had to be cleared to build dwelling and office buildings. Of the few churches left standing, two or three house schools for children and one a training center for chauffeurs. The church of Christ the Saviour in Moscow has been demolished to clear ground for the new Palace of the Soviets. Of the "sorok dis Sorok" (40x40) churches of Moscow, only thirty-eight remain open, and Sherwood Eddy, each year finds fewer and fewer churches to which the students of his seminar can go to observe religious services and be convinced that although the Soviet Government permits religious services they are largely ignored.

Last year (1932), the oldest churches of Moscow's Kremlin were restored. Their gold and blue domes glitter now in the sun. In these churches, for four centuries, the Tsars were baptised and buried, married and crowned to be the rulers of rich and miserable Russia. Thousands of curious tourists pass through the fortressed walls of Kremlin every summer. They are shown the crown jewels and the ecclesiastical ornaments, relics of the past, of the day when religion sanctified the rule of Tsars to eternity. The magnificent "Isaac's Cathedral" of Petrograd has become the Anti-Religious Museum of Leningrad. In Tiflis, the splendid oriental and occidental capital of Georgia, is found the oldest church of Georgia, where services have been held continuously from the ninth century down to our own day. An archbishop in this church, when questioned about religion in Georgia, replied "There is much I cannot say, but I only know that whereas, I once had five hundred priests, I have now in my episcopal body, only twenty."

Not only are orthodox churches demolished, but preachers of evangelical faiths are silenced when they voice anti-Soviet opinions. One who was the most powerful preacher in Moscow remarked once, that "The business of preaching is bankrupt here." Yet he wrote a book, and has published ideas which support the ideology of Communism. He says, "Were I young now, I would join the Communist Party." Another intellectual, after forced sojourn among the colony of exiles on the Isle of Solovetz in the White Sea, remarked once,

> The place is misrepresented. It is, of course, a prison; but formerly it was a monastery. Prisoners are isolated, but so also were monks who retired from the world. Prison life is not disciplined by a stricter regime than monastic vows impose. And the natural beauty of the place is thrilling. All monastic institutions, almost, were built in places as inaccessible to society as they were wealthy by nature. The White Sea is frozen from December to April in this land of the midnight sun, where winter on the Polar Circle is warmed by the currents of the Gulf Stream.

Not only have churches been torn down and preachers silenced, but religious work receives no kind of economic support from the state. In the last year of the Tsarist regime, the budget contained an item of forty million roubles for church schools and for the education of a priesthood. The Soviet budget for the year 1933 contains among others the following items: 24 billion roubles for reconstruction of the People's Economy, light and heavy industry, electrification, etc, 2 billion for education, 230 million for the preservation of health, the organization of work and social security; but not one kopeck for religious organization.

Perhaps figures strike dully on the imagination of those who read in them only the impersonal legislation of government. What do the people say, is asked? The writer lived for a time in the home of a Russian worker. When his daughter said, "There is no God," he said, "That's right," and asked, "Can any educated person believe in God?" The Communist present remarked,

> It is not true that the Communists destroy religion. We never go to workers with that kind of talk. Whenever churches are destroyed, it is done by joint vote and declaration of the people. In Grosny, my home city, the former communicants demanded that the church be destroyed. In another instance they converted their cathedral into a worker's club house. The Communist does not destroy religion; he makes people see that it is unnecessary, that it is deceptive and used against his interests.

When the worker, not a Communist, was asked, what are the chief gains of the Revolution?, he replied, "The seven hour day and the great comradeship between workers of all levels." As a boy of fourteen, he worked fifteen hours a day in a grocery store and was continually insulted by persons who felt above the working class. Not very long ago, his wife came home in tears. It was not because he had beaten her, nor because he had brought up her children in the wrong way, but because she had lost the food card to the worker's cooperative. Lost a piece of paper, and was faced with the prospect of a month without food! "My wage means little," the worker said "without a card to the cooperative, I would spend all of it in a week. The food card is one-half my pay." Men work for bread cards, women cry when they are lost; the soul and the body are one.

Did man only behave, much could be left unsaid, and many writers, poets, and orators remain dumb. But man not only behaves, he reasons; and herein is his woe and his freedom. A church can be demolished without injuring religion; many churches can be torn down and faith remain alive in the soul; a priesthood, an ecclesiastical heirarchy, can topple down, and men still believe in God. But the crash of religion in Russia is more than a ruined cathedral or a disrobed priesthood. The Communist ideology pulls at the roots of religious philosophy; it yanks at the tree of religious faith; it plants new seeds in the upturned soil.

The attack is first launched at the religious explanations of the origin of man, of society, and of the world. Not only are the young Soviet children, taught that the universe is not "earth centred," but they learn that our sun is a star, past the middle ages of life; and that our solar system is winding out earth's sun-lit days in the afternoon

of life. They learn how shamefully the church resisted the teaching of Galileo and Copernicus, and they appreciate how sweepingly the ideas of the later scientists crushed theological doctrines. The foolhardiness of believing biblical miracles is pointed out. If the sun were to stand still in the heavens for one minute, let alone a day, such as it was given Joshua to behold, a catastrophe beyond imagination would overwhelm the earth. The seas would overflow all the harbors not left high and dry, mountains would rock on their base; life would be in hazard and chaos. The secure constancy of nature's laws are opposed to the perilous uncertainties of miracles.

In the Communist teaching about the origin of man, Darwinism is united with modern anthropology and psychology. Darwinism gains prestige and distinction not only because its science is sound, but because it was the object of such bitter attacks by bigoted theologians. The supernatural origin of the spirit, its immateriality and deathlessness, theological concepts all, are repudiated as a survival of primitive animism. Work, not spirit, is the chief thing which distinguishes man from the animal. In distinction to the adaptions of animals to nature under compulsion of the necessity to survive, the labor of man has the following traits: (1) It is consciously planned, that is, it is purposeful; (2) artificially prepared tools are made to facilitate it; (3) man is not passively adapted to nature, but adapts the objects of nature to his own use. In fact, with the aid of modern science and technique, man subdues nature, rides in airplanes, and talks around the world in defiance of the laws of gravity and space and sound.

The Biblical legend of the garden of Eden accounts for the origin of society, in the apparently impure sex-relations of the family of Adam and Eve, his woman. Communists claim that society arose in an original communism where children knew only their mothers, and men were not united in holy wedlock to any one wife. The original communistic society disappeared with the rise of the family and private property. The question is asked, "What does the religious explanation of society give? God finds out all the guilty. The workers live poorly; it means that such is the will of God. The workers happened to better their pay; it is apparent that God wanted it so. The harvest is from God, and hunger is also from God. Murder and fire also are according to the will of God, and so is explained all of life." (Quotation from "Study Book for Workers' Anti-Religious Circles," page 201). And again the question is asked,

> What is the learning of Marx about social development? With the changing of the means of production, the political structure is changed and also the different ideologies, morals, religion, art, law, philosophy, science. . . . The customs of people are not defined by the consciousness of people but the opposite, the social life defines the consciousness of people (P. 203 *Ibid.*)

Like a new Westminster Catechism, the "Study Book for Anti-Religious Circles" teaches religion. The learning of Marx, Engels, Lenin is counterposed to that of the Bible. Biblical teaching claims that woman was created inferior to man and must serve and obey him all the days of his life. In Communist teaching, woman is the equal of man and was made man's inferior only by exploitation. Man first began to accumulate an excess for trade by exploitation of his wife and children. Trade originated in societies where endogenous and exogenous marriages prevailed.

> When the hunter peoples have wives of a strange totem group and supply food to their fathers-in-law, they receive in exchange the products of the hunt of the other totem groups. The exchange consists usually of the tabooed totem animal.

With the rise of trade and settled agriculture, the slave becomes immensely profitable for the owners. Society is divided into the ruling exploiting class and the basic productive class. A class struggle develops and governing power grows more complex; the state arises to maintain the power of the exploiters.

Religion arose by a union between authority and animism. It is explained thus:

> At present, among the Australians, living as we said, already in the period of sharpened stone, we find a full government of the old men. Belief in the spirit developed with the growth of their power and in its turn helped this power to grow stronger. The old man after death continues to live. The spirit freed from the body becomes all powerful. . . . The more the cult of the spirit grew, the more it strengthened the authority of the old generation. (Page 239 *Ibid*)

With the rise of the State, Religion is drawn more and more to the support of the rulers on earth. Lenin once wrote of the idea of God as a social force,

> The idea of God has always made drowsy and dulled the social feeling, substituting the living for the dead, being always an idea of slavery (the worst, everlasting slavery). No kind of idea of God has connected personality with Society, but has always connected the oppressed class to faith in the divinity of the oppressors.

"Religion," according to the new Anti-Religious educators, "is a system of 'stupyfying' and 'fooling' the working masses through the idea of supernaturalism." Lenin is again quoted, "To those who all their lives work and are in need, religion teaches patience and humility in earthly life, comforting with hope in heavenly rewards." The polemic is continued,

> Priests in dispute, sometimes announce 'Your communism is also religion. You have your ikons, your holidays, your ceremonies.' And from that draw the conclusion, that religion can never disappear and therefore anti-religious propaganda is purposeless. Here is why it is important to remember, that religion will be there only, where is a faith in supernaturalism. (Page 23 *Ibid*)

A student who had just graduated from one of the many denominational colleges in United States with an A.B. in Sociology, after reviewing the exhibits in the "Anti-Religious Museum" of Moscow, remarked, "I have seen nothing here that is Anti-Religious." To his mind, Russia has been right in her repudiation of orthodoxy and ecclesiastical ignorance. His training in liberalism had unfettered his mind from unreasoned intolerance. He could appreciate, be tolerant, and yet remain a Christian. But Communist Russia has rejected all religion, including Christianity, calling Christ a myth and his religion one to comfort slaves. Of the social role of religion, Lenin wrote,

> Each and every oppressing class needs two functions to preserve its reign; the function of the hangman and the function of the priest. The hangman must stamp out protest and rebellion of the oppressed, and the priest must draw perspectives for them. (This is especially fitting to do when there is no guarantee for the existence of these perspectives . . .) uniting poverty and sacrifice with the preservation of the class rule and by this very fact reconciling them to this rule, to frighten

them off from revolutionary action, to undermine their revolutionary disposition and destroy their revolting activity. (Quoted from "The Origin of Christianity," Tokin, Page 5.)

Of the social function of Christianity in particular, Engels wrote the most scathing criticisms.

The social principles of Christianity have had eighteen hundred years at their disposal, in order to develop themselves and do not need any further kind of development whatever from the side of priests. The social principles of Christianity justified ancient slavery, praised the feudalism of the Middle Ages and are able also in case of need to defend, although with pitiful grimaces, the contemporary oppression of the proletariat. The social principles of Christianity preach the indispensability of the existing classes—the ruling and the enslaved—and for the latter it has only pious desires, that the first will be a benefactor to it. The social principles of Christianity transfer to heaven the reward promised by the priests for all the transported abominations and by this justify the continuance of these very abominations on the earth. The social principles of Christianity proclaim all opposition of oppressed against oppressors as infamy, either by just punishment for original or other sin, or by ordeal which God in his great wisdom sent down that people be reconciled to him. The social principles of Christianity exalt cowardice, contempt of self, self-humiliation, subordination, meekness, by words—all qualities of the crowd and for the proletariat. For the proletariat daring, self-consciousness, a feeling of pride and independence is more important than bread. In the principles of Christianity are printed slyness and hypocrisy, but the proletariat is revolutionary. (From The Origin of Christianity, by Dulov, Nedelsky, Pokrovsky. Page 62.)

Psychoanalysts scenting a trauma in the background, may explain the sharpness of Engel's anti-religious and anti-Christian sentiments. Marx suffered no serious breaks with his family on religious issues; in his works is not found such fierce denunciations of specific religions. Engels, however was disowned by a pious and jealous Christian tradesman for his revolutionary views. However, both these fathers of Communism agreed that, "the achievement of elementary happiness for working people was possible on earth only when in the consciousness of working people would be destroyed finally religion in the illusory happiness of the oppressed." (From "Religion and the Class Struggle," F. Oloeshuk, page 67.)

The attack on Christianity has been marshalled on three fronts. Long-range artillery fires well-aimed shots at three main sections of Christian faith. The historicity of Jesus is denied; the claim that the early Christians were persecuted is said to be counterfeit; that Christianity was in origin and always will be utterly foreign to Communism.

At the present time, science with full irrefutability proves that Christ at no time and at no place ever existed, that the gospels were written considerably later. But, if Christ never was, then from where in that case appeared Christianity? Marxism says that every religion is a product of the social life of mankind; therefore, if we want to understand in a modern scientific sense the arising of Christianity, we must first of all find for ourselves an answer as to what kind of social relation existed at the time when Christianity appeared. (From "Religion and the Class Struggle," one of the series on what a worker should know who becomes a member of the Communist Party. Page 7.)

If Schweitzer denied the genuineness of the lives of Jesus written by Renan and other theologians of his day, the Communist denies historical verity to the lives of Jesus written by Luke, Mark, Matthew and John. They view them as good religious novels, fictions of religious minds, to be used by a priesthood with organizing powers. As evidence of false origin, they point to the errors of Luke's chronology, evidently a copy of Roman models; to Mark's apparent lack of knowledge of Palestinian geography and customs; and to the evident philosophical and mystical interests of John.

The social strata whose members came into Christianity were made up of de-classed elements, slave masters and slaves, traders and petty artisans, and least of all were peasants. In the second century, Origin wrote, "Original Christianity was a religion primarily of slaves, freedmen and artisans." And Justin also of the second century, directly proved in a letter of apology addressed to the government and in substance to all society, that Christianity was not an enemy of the government, with the characteristic assurance, that "Our hopes are not directed to the present." (From "Origin of Christianity," by Tobin, page 86-87). Basing his judgment on this and like evidence, the Communist comes to the conclusion that

The Christian religion is a religion of the oppressed who do not see any exit from their terrible situation here on the earth in a class society. Christianity is a religion of backward, downtrodden, politically unconscious elements not welded into the class of the working people." (From "What the Worker Should Know Who Is Entering the Communist Party," page 10).

By a feat of dialectic reasoning, the Christian is described as an oppressed person who suffers no persecution. He was oppressed but endured his oppression, being comforted by the hopes of a future life. "Whatever comforts the slave, instead of raising him up to revolt against his slavery," wrote Lenin, "helps the slave owner." The alleged persecutions of early Christians are flatly declared counterfeited.

The Communism of early Christianity, as preached by Karl Kautsky and others, is denied by the Communists. Social democrats under the influence of Kautsky and the revisionist school of Marxism came to stand on the ground of full friendship with religion. Religion, they said, is a private matter, not only in relation to government, but also in relation to the Party. From the social wing of Christian groups appears the Christian trade unions, Christian cooperative organizations, Christion Socialism, movements thus characterized by *Russkie Vestnik,* a reactionary journal of Tsarist Russia,

Christian Socialism is a learning which recognizes the existence of social evil in the contemporary social regime and endeavors to reform it by increasing religious moral principles in the different classes of people, not leaving the frame of present day government forms and preserving the domination of private property. ("Religion and the Class Struggle." Page 58.)

With this brand of political radicalism, Communism is an irreconcilable enemy.

Socialists look at religion as a "private matter," as a survival of uncultured times. The Communists are related to the struggle with religion as to a profound party matter, and look upon any kind of religion as an instrument of exploitation. Religion is a tool of the class enemy, the struggle with religion is the alphabet of all materialism and consequently of Marxism and Communism. (*Ibid.* Page 66-67.)

The definition of what the conception "religion as a private matter" means in the Soviet state, where the government is in the hands of the Communists, is formulated by Lenin.

Religion must be declared a "private matter"; these words are customarily applied to express the relation of the Socialists to religion. But the significance of these words must be defined so that they do not express any kind of misunderstanding. We require that religion be a "private matter" in relation to the government, but we do not regard religion as a private matter in relation to our own Party. Accordingly, in relation of the

Socialistic proletariat to the Party, religion is not a "private matter." Our Party is a union of conscious, leading fighters for the liberation of the working class. Such a union cannot and must not without distinction relate itself to the unconsciousness, darkness and obscurantism in the form of religious belief. We require full separation of the church from the government, in order to fight the religious fog with a clear ideological way, our press, our word . . . for us the ideological struggle is not private, but a general Party, a general proletarian matter. (From "Study Book for Workers Anti-Religious Circles." Page 454.)

The Communist is irrevocably determined; he sets his face against religion; every approach at reconciliation meets a fresh resistance. He battles with religion as with a death enemy. However, without religion he is not in the dilemma of the French atheists who after the French Revolution had to call in the Church to maintain the moral order of society. The Communist has won his morality in struggle; his is a militant morality, nevertheless a morality sufficient unto him and his. Proletarian morals were defined by Lenin when speaking to the assembly of the Young Communist League in 1920 on the 4th of October.

But does there exist a proletarian moral? Does there exist a Communistic morality? Of course, yes. The matter is often represented in such a manner, that we have no morals, and very often the bourgeois denounces us Communists as immoral. This is a means to replace understanding, to throw sand in the eyes of the workers and peasants. In what sense do we deny morals? In that sense in which the bourgeois preach it, who deduce this morality from the decrees of God. Any such kind of morality, taken from beyond human, from beyond class ideas, we deny. We say that this is deceit, that this is trickery, and stuffing the heads of the workers and peasants in the interests of the landlords and capitalists. We say that our morality is subordinated fully to the interests of the class struggle. Our morality issues from the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat. We say that morality is that which serves to destroy the old exploiting society and for the uniting of all working people around the proletariat creating a new society of Communists. (*Ibid,* page 522.)

The Proletarian revolution of 1917, when both autocratic tyranny and capitalism were killed by the new power of workers, soldiers and peasants, was not merely a transfer of power. The entire political structure was overthrown, and the church tumbled with it. The technical revolution, on the basis of electrification, began soon after, to be pushed ahead like a giant tidal wave under the impetus of the Five Year Plan. Religion was liquidated as a force slowing up the progress of construction. Soviet Russia now stands in the morning mist of a cultural revolution whose features are neither charted nor discernible. Yet from participation in building that culture, religion as a positive force will most certainly be excluded. Is it death, or the rebirth of society, of the first world society which has found religion useless for its purposes? The new generation demands plans, sacrifices for the future on the earth and in Soviet Russia. The church, where it still exists, speaks to old people and of the past, dreams other-worldly dreams, is barren of ideas. The new culture will not be poured into the old bottles; the rising culture has made for itself new containers to store its fermenting wine. It is a young culture with symbols of rugged, massive, overpowering strength. Huge turbines, high power transmitters, the dynamo stage of culture, when life is a roaring blast furnace pouring out a molten stream of auto-factories, tractor plants, steel mills, machine tool plants, railroad-car factories. The factory siren is its temple bells; its production meetings are a confessional, where men plead their innocence and confess their guilt, not for the sins of their creation, but for the sins of non-creation, of non-fulfilling of their quota of a man-made plan.

Under the creative impulse of this new venture have grown up great giants of material and technical achievement. Over the dam at Dnieprostroi, the water pours in a cream colored foam; it whirls through ninety ton turbines, and electric lights burn hundreds of kilometers away. Factory wheels whirl around under the impulse of motors driven by its electric current. In the immense blast furnace units at Magnitostroi a mountain of black coal and green ore is burning at white heat and an uninterrupted flow of steel and iron pours out to make the material base of construction planned for and as yet undreamed of. The material base, the outer architectural shape of Soviet Russia has changed forever, it is becoming a modern industrialized nation and this material change followed on the heels of a political, technical and ideological transformation, whose magnitude can only be suggested. The Church and religion were discarded as much for their bankrupt ideas as for the fact that they were actively used as a tool of the enemy class or the class enemy. For were they considered a good enough tool, the new technique hungry Russia would have gobbled them up long ago, though it paid for them with a belly empty of food and a body deprived of material comforts. The building of these new factories, the buying of machinery and hiring of technical skill has cost a price of food rationing and mass fasting (the bourgeois call it starvation when it is done for non-religious purposes) on a nation-wide scale and with such an amazing spirit of willingness, that one would fear to trust the new government into other hands, so tremendous an engine of exploitation it could become. If it be said, that the architecture of an age reveals its inner spirit, then in Russia, the arabesque Mosaics of Russia's cathedrals are lost in a forest of factory buildings, government buildings, dwellings, hospitals, schools, etc. The church stands, where it still is standing as on Kremlin hill like a symbol, and only that church stands which can be a symbol of ancient art and architecture, preserving still in the feverish age of the Five Year Plan the cooling breath of an old world.

Moscow, U. S. S. R. ANDREW STEIGER.

Civilizations do not, like Tennyson's "Brook," run on forever. The law of change applies to them as to all else. They melt, even as do the mountains, in the slow course of time. Even the most stable of civilizations move, if only at glacial speed. Civilizations are not only subject to change but they also disappear from the earth. Some elements in them may pass on, but as expressions of the social life of one organized community they cease to exist. It has been the desire of all great souls to aid in the creation of an organized social and economic life in order that an enduring though changing civilization may be achieved. No form of civilization on a democratic ideal can endure which depends for its spiritual sustenance on a few so-called great ones or leaders. Democracy itself can function only in terms of the people. A. L. W.

The Study Table

A Modern Prophet

Upton Sinclair has long since proved his right to speak on the social questions of the hour. His credentials are not those of the academic professor and the statistical expert. He has no degrees in economics or sociology, and would not be given recognition by any college. But he has been studying the trend of events with an alert mind and a fearless spirit for thirty years, and during all these years he has written not only voluminously but effectively. And as he looks back over his pages in book and pamphlet, he sees the record of prophecies fulfiled. In this book are quotations from "An Open Letter to Lincoln Steffens," written by Mr. Sinclair in 1903 and published in 1904, which proves to have been an amazing example of accurate diagnosis and forecast. In 1907, Mr. Sinclair published a book, "The Industrial Republic," in which are passages which read like an historical narrative of events in 1929-1933. In 1926, he issued "Letters to Judd," a description of the collapse of capitalism so accurate that, in preparing new editions for the presidential campaign of 1932, he didn't have to revise an essential word." Upton Sinclair is in the enviable position of being able to name chapter and verse to demonstrate that he knew and announced years ago what was coming. This fact is the source of his authority today. He is a prophet justified in his own time by the course of events. He has a right to speak —and to be heard.

But Mr. Sinclair has further credentials. He not only has something to say, but he knows how to say it. Our author, in other words, is not only a world-famous novelist, but the greatest pamphleteer of modern times. He is in the august tradition of Voltaire and Thomas Paine. Not even H. G. Wells in this age can rival him. His easy mastery of material, his flowing, simple, vivid style, his essential narrative genius, his verve and boldness and prophetic fire, all these make him irresistible. Side by side with his novels runs an impressive array of "tracts for the times." Of these, "The Way Out" is the latest, and one of the best.

Written in the form of a series of letters to "Perry," a wealthy scion of the great industrial owning class of this country, this book is a brief and exciting survey of what has happened to us in the last few years, and what can be done about it. Mr. Sinclair's remedy, of course, is the program of Socialism which he has been describing and presenting patiently for a generation past, but this takes on added pungency and power in the light of contemporary events. The author has little confidence in the "New Deal," though he is curiously sympathetic with the nationalistic tendencies of the administration. Let America work out her own problems on a Socialistic basis, he says, and her success will constitute her best service to the troubled world. And he thinks this success can be won without dependence upon international relations. It is an interesting challenge, interestingly sustained by Roosevelt on the one hand and by Stalin on the other. But at bottom this is incidential to the main theme—which is escape from the present chaos by the highway of Socialism.

We prophesy a wide reading for this admirable book. Closed banks, idle factories, starving farmers, and fifteen million unemployed have plowed the furrows for the sowing of its seed.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Cromwell's Confusion

"To your tents, O Israel!" For now,* having painted pictorially England's Chamberlain at the height of his power, Mr. Garvin takes up the task where he left off, and, with swift supple strokes, proceeds to picture "Cromwell" at bay, berserk within his fallen fortress, laying about him in all directions, hemmed in by hostile hosts that threaten his shaking standard. . . . A confused combat, whose issue is infinitely uncertain, though foreshadowings of its finale tremble across the closing vistas of the canvas—still unfinished, and with a third section in process. Briefly, however, let us follow the battle-tide as thus far unfolded: certain that the sequel will soon be forthcoming, wherein Cromwell's confusion will be resolved, and the import of his colorful career made manifest.

Chamberlain, then, retires in 1885 from the fallen Gladstone cabinet at the apex of his personal prestige, confidently expecting a speedy return to power upon the collapse of the succeeding Tory cabinet: he and his co-tribune, Dilke, dream to dominate England, and fulfil the Radical revolution in its extremity throughout the Empire. Paradoxically for them, their first step in this campaign—autonomy for Ireland—leads, through a tangled intrigue of Irish ingratitude, red hats, and shady swindlers, to a baleful break between Chamberlain and Parnell. The simultaneous downfall of Dilke, due to a private scandal, dissolves the dual alliance, leaving Chamberlain alone to wage the war in the form of his glorious "unauthorized campaign" for franchise reform; land equalization; seamen's security; income tax; local self-government; Church disestablishment; free education—the whole highly distasteful to Mr. Gladstone. And the Woodman himself, determined not to yield England's helm to this young marplot, rouses suddenly, and, brutally belying his years, delivers one swift unexpected counterstroke —his Home Rule Bill—at once putting Cromwell in apparent opposition to democracy, and shattering most of his thunderbolts.

Battling for the honor of his fallen comrade, severed from his dearest friend, John Morley (now in opposition livery), and standing forth almost defenseless to the ever-rising blast—thus appears the "Carnot" of English Liberalism: his high hopes destroyed; his very name assailed; his political life (and the toiling cheering masses of Birmingham) alone left him to defend. In his tumult, a crafty scheme of combat rushes upon him; he resigns from a cabinet seat, and, almost alone in his jehad, defeats ignominiously both Gladstone and Parnell, and vanquishes Home Rule.

The next three years are years of isolation, during which Cromwell holds his Birmingham citadel in the House, and is ironic (as well as active) witness to the downfall of the Whigs in person of Lord Churchill, and the beginnings of the slow ominous decline of Parnell. Chamberlain at this time also visits America —and weds a New England girl: Cromwell, always persevering, having already lost two wives, has tried

*"The Life of Joseph Chamberlain, II." By J. L. Garvin. Macmillan, 1933. $5.00.

again. . . . Rejuvenated by these later nuptials, he next is found back in England once more, experiencing a renaissance of political power, coincident with his unhorsing Parnell. Thus recreated, the erstwhile agitator again sweeps to the heights, waving the banner of a united Liberalism, borne on the willing wings of two new twin forces in English life: Unionism, the vocal organ of the rising British masses; Imperialism, the aspiring grasp of British capitalism in its onward march towards new frontiers and foreign markets. At this point Gladstone passes from the scene; while the fine flower of British Imperialism (whom we have watched mature since his budding days at Birmingham) blazes out with all his glories: and the reins of the far-flung British Empire are gathered in his hands, as he launches forth that brazen Juggernaut across a cowering Egypt, China, Turkey, and—Africa. Here the canvas concludes, with Cromwell in the saddle, ready to ride roughshod over a stricken world.

Victory final and accompli? . . . Not quite! For in this almost unlimited afflatus of power are hidden the seeds of destruction: the iron fist of Cromwell, used to crush a knot of fuddled farmers, will make resounding repercussions throughout Europe, amid which are faintly to be heard the thunders of Armageddon. But all that belongs to the future—and to the last act. While we await its appearance, we shall say "Au revoir" to Joseph Chamberlain — sardonic, chivalrous, courageous, energetic; conquering even in dubious dilemmas by *character* alone—ever the same, "unchanged through every change."

ROBERT C. SCHALLER.

Satanic Majesties, Mythical and Real

Your reviewer is conscious of the fact that the juxtaposition of the two volumes* discussed in this brief article is unusual and possibly far fetched but the emotions engendered by a careful study of both have linked them together and the resultant may not be altogether unsatisfactory.

The first book is "The Story of the Devil," by Arturo Graf translated by Edward Noble Stone. A monumental work of surpassing interest and charm holding one's attention as not one in a hundred modern novels succeeds in doing, this book is a bizarre and yet eloquent exposition of human credulity through the ages.

Walter Greenwood Beach in his excellent book on "Social Aims in a Changing World" used in his admirable concluding paragraph this line "it is often said that men are not rational after all."

If he needs moral enforcement I commend Mr. Graf's book to him. An amazing record of irrationality is unfolded and presented with such graphic power and illuminating rationality that it leaves one comforted after a series of emotional upheavals as to the depths of human suffering for "irrational" ideas. From the dawn of civilization unto its present manifestation (if we are civilized, vide Barnes) the belief in devils has been maintained. The remarkable part of this story, however, is that the author has confined himself to the civilization which is called "Christian." Devils, devils, everywhere. No surcease from the devils. Arturo Graf traces the origin of the devil, shows the varied appearances he is supposed to have presented, gives us an insight into the psychology of his devotees and tells many tales of their experiences or pseudo experiences with his satanic majesty. Albeit, this is a serious book written in no scoffing contempt, it is on the contrary a learned disquisition upon an entrancing theme evidencing a life time of painstaking effort coupled with erudite scholarship. Would that one might quote lengthily but one is daunted and baffled by an *embarrass de richesse*. If one can overcome one's chuckles one reverts to a sense of impotence at the credulity exposed and also to a sense of withering scorn and deep dyed shame for the part played by Theology in the maintenance of the myths and shibboleths of the devils and the resultant unnecessary human misery caused by these phantasies. However, the author concludes with the suggestion that the "devil is dead" and here one may quote briefly

> "The Devil is Dead," the monks all say,
> "And none will buy agnuses any more."
> "He is dead," cry the canons, "and no one will pay
> 'For oremuses now, as they paid before."
> The gloomy conclave is filled with despair;
> "Good bye to our power, our profit is fled,
> "We've lost our father," they all declare,
> "The Devil is dead, the Devil is dead."

Civilization has conquered hell and has forever redeemed us from the devil. Arturo Graf is a distinguished Italian scholar and poet and one is pleased with his prediction that demonology has passed with the advent of our much vaunted civilization.

A careful reading of our second book bids us pause, however. "Hitlerism" by "Nordicus" suggests that Demonology has but assumed the form of "demagoguery." Assuredly the elevation to a high place in the land of Schiller and Heine and Goethe of a mountebank upon a platform primarily of the "Judenhetze" suggests that all we have done is to put our devilment into modern habiliments.

Maybe if it is not diabolism it is what Edgar James Swift describes in his book "The Jungle of the Mind" that the sum total of mentality has sunk to the jungle level of darkness, savagery and ineptitude.

The head of the department of Psychology at the University of Glasgow, Robert H. Thouless, examines with quiet wit, thirty-four dishonest tricks of argumentation in his thought provoking book on "Straight and Crooked Thinking." What a clinical subject Hitler would make him for another volume. Every ancient canard and every outworn political and social shibboleth is used by this new saviour, veritably with a finesse proverbially attributed to his satanic majesty to embroil an already overburdened people into a morass of troubles more vile.

What a striking analogy between Hitler and the ex-Kaiser. Both sublimated morons with superiority complexes. A modern form of devil and the credulity which gives them allegiance as incredible as that mentality which supported belief in the devils of yesterday. One has to credit Nordicus with a readable and valuable discussion of the new form of diabolism called "Hitlerism." There is an intelligent and splendid initiation into the antecedents of the cult and a fine galaxy of portraits of the major aides de camps. Then there is an informative and balanced series of chapters dealing with Hitlerism as a "Weltanschaung" and with some concurrent and integrating systems. The "Judenhetze" or Jew baiting is examined and discussed at length.

George N. Shuster, whose chapters on Hitler in his

*"The Story of the Devil," by Arturo Graf. Published by The Macmillan Company. $3.00.
"Hitlerism the Iron Fist in Germany," by Nordicus. Published by The Mohawk Press, 248 pp. $3.00.

fine book "The Germans" are of more delicate intellectual texture than those of Nordicus in a review of Nordicus' book, takes an optimistic view which does not seem to be borne out by recent events in Germany. Your reviewer is not quite so optimistic, either, as to what may be the eventual resultant of this modern diabolism in the land that gave intellectual indorsement and physical comfort to Houston Chamberlain, that killed Ballin of a broken heart and Rathenau by the hand of an assassin. Verily this program of Hitler's is both as incongruous and as incredible as the story of the devil outlined by Arturo Graf. If one may leave this aspect of the theme to revert to such serious ideas of Hitlerism, as there may be, one cannot but describe its supernationalism as a reversal to the barbaric, even though one which is not without aid and comfort in other European nations and unhappily in Fish devotees et al. in America.

Mr. Shuster's book presents a finer approach to this problem in that it develops its psychology and growth at greater length, but it is quite likely that Nordicus has rendered service to a greater number in that his book is in far more popular vein and has the added merit of brevity so dear to the hearts of our university graduates. It is as difficult to fathom the Nazi economic panaceas as it is to probe its cultus of antisemitism. Is the thesis that Hitlerism is a logical twentieth century concomitant to belief in his satanic majesty too far fetched? Sophisticated contemplation of the phenomena in each case would establish their common paternalism, i. e., human credulity and a search for relief from realistic woes in the occult and the bizarre.

We are indebted to Mr. Arturo Graf for a fine treatise on the devil mythological and to Nordicus for an illuminating insight into both the pathology and the psychology of his majesty incarnate in modern garb, Adolph Hitler, quondam Austrian and present ultra-German. It would be unfair to close without a word of recognition of Professor Howard Noble Stone's superb translation of Mr. Graf's book from the Italian. Professor Stone also contributes some very helpful notes but an index is sadly lacking. Nordicus' book has a valuable bibliography but no index.

EMANUEL STERNHEIM.

Corrections

In the review of Trotsky's "The History of the Russian Revolution," UNITY issue of June 19, seventh line from bottom of first column, page 257, should read "Shaw called Marx the man who made a man out of me." In the second column, same page, beginning with fourth line from the top, read, "The serious and critical reader will not want a treacherous impartiality which offers him a cup of conciliation with a well settled poison of reactionary hate at the bottom." The first word on the eleventh line of next paragraph should be 'ever' not even.

"A creed is a gravestone set up on the corpse of a thought."

—*Ingersoll.*

Voices

Fair Maid of Orleans, you are not alone
In hearing Voices where no voices spake.
Beside you stand all poets while they take
With you the leaping fire without a groan,
And hear with you the call that men disown
From Higher Realms where soundless Voices wake.
What restitution shall the masters make
When flesh and spirit cry against the stone?

Oh, they shall come with crosses lifted high,
And honeyed words of long-rejected praise.
Dead poets shall be fit to deify,
Who, living, went dishonored all their days.
O Sister Jean, give us your sainted hand!
We have heard Voices too. We understand.

JAMES LARKIN PEARSON.

Correspondence

A Cancellation

Editor of UNITY:

"To maintain the credit of the United States" I am compelled to cancel my subscription.

The reduction of $390.00 in my wages (as a federal employee) to maintain and increase the wages (interest) to government bondholders, to be followed, in a few months, by arbitrary removal accomplished by arbitrary change of age limit, will make a total reduction of $2,000.00 a year under the supposed economy program.

It can readily be seen that the $800,000,000 reduction in federal wages and the $400,000,000 taken from war veterans and the reduction of industrial wages following the example of the government, is a logical (?) method to increase the purchasing power of the masses and release the frozen, surplus incomes that are not being used and can not be used to consume more goods to provide business and employment in replacing them!

Individually, I am the forgotten man. The contract specifying the rate of interest on increasing, burdensome debts is sacred, but the legal contract specifying the rate of pay in the appointment and promotion papers of federal employees is but a scrap of paper. The present 15% reduction of federal wages based on a 21.7% reduction in cost of living which, at the same time, was being arbitrarily increased, did not take in consideration that the partial adjustment of federal wages, during the period of prosperity(?), lacked 30% of reaching such a standard.

The menace of the situation is only emphasized by this individual case which, no doubt, is one of the millions like it. Goods must be used and consumed to perpetuate business and employment in replacing them. Because the great mass of the population must *buy* their property rights earned by contributions to the finished and available goods, the reduction of inadequate incomes and the increase of surplus incomes but sink us deeper in the mire. This tendency is indicated by the report (page 83) of a "Citizens' Conference on the Crisis in Education," which recently met in Washington. This report shows that dividends and interest (wages paid to dollars) were but little more than one-fourth of wages paid to workers in 1926, the peak of prosperity, three-fourths, when the crash came in 1929, and three years after the crash, had increased to 1.8 times the wages paid to workers. The recent request of the government for a $350,000,000 loan which was subscribed 20 times over, shows but a part of the accumulations of surplus incomes. In this one case $6,500,000,000 that could not be invested or reinvested in business, could not be loaned even to the government.

Yours for economic as well as religious freedom.

K.

The Field

(*Continued from page* 294)

days later a photograph of a Parsee Tower of Silence was printed with a note below explaining that in these towers living bodies of heretics are offered by Hindus to kites and vultures, and that the British Government is trying to suppress this practice. These news significantly coincided with my visit to that country where I was welcomed as representing India.

"The great English poet referred to the loss of one's reputation as a greater tragedy than that of having one's purse stolen. The minor tragedy has, as it is too late in the day to need special reference, happened abundantly in India. But the greater one must be averted in time. We are apt to forget that all politics today in all countries have their common background in world politics. No Government in the world however powerful can do without the moral support of wider humanity and that is why politicians include it in their diplomatic dealings to cultivate world-opinion often with the manure of lies. We do not know the forces that are at the back of the propaganda against India but that it is efficient and has a sound financial power to support it is evident.

"For fighting such a grave menace some mere sporadic oratorical displays or casual visits in foreign lands by gifted individuals can never have any lasting effect. What is needed is to establish fully equipped Information centers in the West from where the organized voice of India may have the opportunity to send abroad her judgment and her appeal."

An Open Letter to President Franklin D. Roosevelt

My Dear Mr. President:

Under the headlines: "How Uncle Sam Keeps His Promise," and "News from the 'Preparedness' Front," (otherwise known as 'Civilian Conservation Corps'), our correspondent in Cedar Valley, Texas, reports:

A boy, 18 years old, was arrested in Beaumont, Texas. He had left the "Free Army" and was arrested for "desertion," as he was wearing "Governmental" clothes.

The members of The Women's Peace Society are interested to know how this, and similar conduct on the part of those in charge of carrying out your relief program for unemployed men, may be reconciled with your radio statement that "there is to be nothing military about the 'Civilian Conservation Corps'—that young men would be put in the Forest Service under charge of the Department of Agriculture — on a purely *voluntary* basis."

We feel sure that the National Broadcasting Company will be glad to again place the radio at your service in order that you may assure the public that the *military conduct* reported is without your knowledge and consent, and that it will be discontinued.

We hope you will do this, because we wish to keep our faith in your pronouncements.

I am, Dear Mr. President,

Very truly yours,

ANNIE E. GRAY,

Dir., The Women's Peace Society,
20 Vesey St.,
New York City.

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